1: Burrows--35-36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 251 Ifalik

"Breadfruit is the only food preserved for any great length of time. (Bonito are smoked, but only to keep them until they can be eaten, which takes two weeks or so with a big catch.) At the height of its bearing season there is more breadfruit than the people can eat. Every household preserves some of the surplus.

The fruit is cut up, mashed with coral pounders, and put into a net made for the purpose (trou li mare). When the net is full it is wrapped up, fastened, and carried--making, in most households, a load for three or four men--into the lagoon. There it is weighted down with blocks of coral and left overnight. In the morning it is brought ashore and put into a pit lined with leaves. After one night there the pit is opened and some of the breadfruit eaten at once. (We foreigners found this mashed and salted breadfruit about the most palatable form of all.) Next, the breadfruit is put back into the pits for the long wait. The pits are lined with big [36] glossy leaves of gul (Barringtonia asiatica). The breadfruit is wrapped up in separate lumps, most of them about half the size of a loaf of bread. The pit is filled with these breadfruit-leaf packages. When it is full, it is covered over with coconut leaves, and these are weighted down with coral. Laid down in this way, mare, as it is called, is said to keep for several years. During the time when there is no fresh breadfruit to be had mare is taken out now and then to vary the daily diet of taro. At this stage it has a penetrating and, to Americans, most offensive smell. But the natives seem to like it no less than their other starchy foods."

1: Burrows--830-83P (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 251 Ifalik 1-2

"The people scattered to their homes [KS: after the bonito catch], but not to sleep. Those who had not taken part in the distribution had been busy preparing earth-ovens (um), not in the cook-sheds behind the dwellings, but on the foreshore near the beach. Shallow pits were hollowed in the sand. Piles of dry firewood were brought from the cook-sheds, and supplemented by dry coconut husks; and fires were laid and kindled in the pits. When the fires were going well, basketfuls of coral gravel were thrown over them to be heated. Meanwhile the bonito had been cleaned, cut into large pieces and made into bundles with wrappers of banana and breadfruit leaf. When fires were well burned down, the bundles were laid over the hot coral and the whole covered over with coconut leaf and earth. There they stayed for what was left of the night. (This traditional kind of cooking is no longer used to prepare ordinary meals in the cook-sheds, but only for special tasks like cooking large fish and turtles.)

Early next morning the pits were still covered, but the people were busy making racks (fang) to smoke the bonito. Four upright posts were set in the ground forming a rectangle. On top of them, at a height of about four feet, a horizontal frame was made of poles, either laid in forks on top of the posts or lashed in place with sinnet [sic] Pieces laid crisscross over this formed the rack. Most of them were of green coconut leaf midrib, which does not burn easily. The wrappers of cooked fish were laid on the rock, the top roofed over with plaited green coco- [83P] nut leaf, and the sides walled in with the same material, except for a low opening left on one side for feeding a smudgy fire,

mostly of coconut husks. This fire was kept going as long as the supply of fish held out. Some of it, cooked over an open fire, had been eaten the night before. (I did not see any eaten raw, but some may have been, as bonito commonly is in Japan, Hawaii, and other parts of the Pacific). From then on, smoked bonito was the daily fare for about two weeks. Gifts made to us would spoil overnight, until we asked our neighbor Maroligar to put them on his rack. Toward the end the fish was very hard and smoky, but as long as it was kept on the racks, no more tainted than smoked and salted fish eaten in the United States.

For three days after such a catch, work is forbidden, except for that necessary in the preparation of the fish and in daily housekeeping. The tabu extends to sexual intercourse. The traditional penalty for violation applies explicitly only to men, and only when the next bonito catch involves use of the spear. The violator of the tabu will be unable, next time, to spear the fish. This is expressed in something like a proverb, a rarity in Ifalik. Ig e valī la ig owai, the fish refuses the spear. It was compared to a woman refusing sexual intercourse."

2: Damm et al. --27 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 261, 251 Ifaluk

Von Kittlitz made some important comments about the famine, which he found among the natives in the spring and fall. This applied to Ifaluk as well as to Aurepik and Faraulip. It is a question of a shortage of food (including fish), which recurs at regular intervals, and which the natives seek to off-set by preserving bread-fruit.

4: Krämer--46.
116, 241, 251

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

When the breadfruit is ripe, it is picked; the bark is scraped off; it is placed in baskets and soaks for five to six hours in salt water; after that the salt water is left to evaporate. The fruit are put into shallow pits, lined with leaves and are covered with earth. They must stay in the pits for twenty-four hours until the fruit has become very soft. Then the soft mass is thoroughly kneaded together with leaves and packed into deep, lined pits; the holes are covered up with stones and the breadfruit preparation keeps in them for many months and years.

4: Krämer--232-233 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 251 Woleai

Lütke, page 176, describes what might be called a method of fish conservation: A fire is made in an earth pit and coral stones are placed in the hole. When they are glowing hot [233] they are covered with leaves, the fish are placed on them and, in turn, are covered up by another layer of leaves; hot stones are laid on top. Finally the hole is closed with sand. It is said that fish prepared in this manner remains fresh for a week.

Unlike the inhabitants of Lugunor and Anoun, however, they did not bring us any fish or other foods. On the contrary, they asked us for something to eat, and they devoured what we gave them. It was evident that there was a real famine on these islands, and apparently this situation occurs at least once during the year. According to the information, which Dr. Mertens obtained from W. Floyd, this hunger period comes in the fall; but here there was no doubt but that it is in March for we found the same thing on all the coral islands, which we visited during the latter part of this month. It is possible that there are several seasons during the year, when there is more or less hunger, depending on the circumstances; the greatest shortage is in the supply of fish, and they constitute the [p. 149] major part of the diet of the islanders. It may be too that W. Floyd was mistaken when he said that this famine lasts over two months. Unless it varies on the different islands, which seems highly improbable considering the fact that they are so similar, at the utmost it can last during the month of March; and this is assuming that what we saw was the regular yearly starvation period. For all during February we had seen an abundance of fish everywhere, and soon after the beginning of April we found quantities of them again on the Uleai group. If there is a short famine in March and a longer one in October and November, then W. Floyd is mistaken for he said that there is only one period in the year and that during that time there is a scarcity of edible fruits as well as of fish. The islanders have to fall back on their supplies of prepared breadfruit, and it seems that they get more of this from the high islands, than they can raise

themselves. During our stay the preservation of fish was utterly unknown on any of the islands.

6: Senfft--55
116, 251, 262

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The flesh diet of the natives consists of pork, chicken, fish, crabs, and sometimes turtles. The chief foods are coconuts and sweet toddy, the juice used for sour toddy before it is fermented; this seems to be a wholesome food because of its high sugar content. Few people eat eggs, and it is said that formerly no one ate them. Breadfruit is also an important food. The natives make breadfruit jam by kneading the fruit and then burying it in grooves which they seal hermetically with stones and leaves. They consume these during the time when the trees do not bear fruit. They also eat bananas, taro, Cystosperma, and sugar cane.

28: Spiro--9 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 241, 251, 262 Ifalik

"The natives distinguish at least three major species of taro, and they are prepared in a number of ways. Taro plants grow the entire year, so that it is an ubiquitous food.

Breadfruit seems to be the favorite starch food, perhaps because it is not as abundant as the others, since it grows only during the prevailing westerlies, but it is absent during the Trade Wind season. It, too, is prepared in a number of ways. Breadfruit is preserved, by salting cooked breadfruit with water, patting it into balls, each wrapped in a separate leaf, and stored in underground pits. It is eaten during the off-season. I could not get myself to eat any because of the---to me--- extremely offensive odor it emits.

Bananas, though abundant, are not a favorite food, and are fed to the hogs and to visiting anthropologists, though the natives do eat them."

28: Spiro--40-41
116, 261, 251

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The distribution of fish is usually the task of Taroman, the fifth ranking chief. Every person who participated, as well as those unable to participate because of debility or illness, shares in the catch. The remaining fish are divided equally among the clans, and any surplus is then divided among the chiefs. If the men catch more than can be consumed within twenty-four hours, the fish is preserved by being smoked on a wooden rack, and is smoked every day until it is consumed. In the drive referred to above, 301 large bonito were caught, which was much more than could be consumed, and the [41] smoked-fish lasted for about two weeks without spoiling, by which time it had all been consumed."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any length of time (they sometimes smoke fish, but not to keep it for more than a few months). To preserve the breadfruit, the skin is scraped off and the pulp cut into sections which are put into big, open-meshed rope baskets. These are carried to the lagoon, weighed down with coral blocks, and left to soak overnight. The baskets are then removed from the lagoon, covered with leaves, and left for still another night. The pulp can then be kneaded into a paste, which is wrapped in leaves and buried in the ground. The preserving process is quite comparable with that used for sauerkraut, and the stuff lasts for years. We didn't like the taste of this mar, but apparently it is nutritious enough. Considerable quantities are buried every year, insuring a food supply in case of a disaster like a typhoon.

There are seven or eight named varieties of breadfruit, distinguished by the size and appearance of the fruit, shape of the leaves, and the like. In the case of two of the varieties, the fruits have seeds, and in these the roasted seeds are used for food. They have a chestnut-like flavor and quality.

Almost as important as breadfruit were the two taros. This is perhaps doing violence to the word "taro" since it is using it to cover two similar but quite distinct kinds of aroids with edible tubers, one called by the botanists *Colocasia* and the other *Cyrtosperma*. The taro of Polynesia is *Colocasia*, but on Ifaluk both plants were about equally important. These again are anciently cultivated plants, vegetatively propagated, each with endless named varieties. The *Colocasia* on Ifaluk was called wot and the *Cyrtosperma*, pulach (the "ch" is also rendered as an "x" sort of a sound—we argued endlessly about how to spell Ifalukian words).

Both wot and pulach are aroids, that is, they belong to the botanical family that includes the "elephant-ear" plants, the Calla lilies and the Jack-in-the-Pulpit of North America. A third edible aroid, *Alocasia*, called file by the Ifalukians, was grown on the atoll, but it was considered definitely inferior to the other two and little used as food.

Wot and pulach were grown in low, swampy ground in the interior of the islets. The central part of Falalap was almost all swamp, and the main gardens were located there. These taro swamps occur all through the Pacific and it is difficult to know now to what extent they